

HAWAII, U.S.A.

**COMMUNIST
BEACHHEAD**



OR

**SHOWCASE
FOR
AMERICANISM**



ABOUT THE BOOKLET

This booklet is the Hawaii Statehood Commission's answer to the charge that Communism in Hawaii disqualifies the Territory from becoming a state. It is published pursuant to the commission's statutory duty to refute erroneous statements about Hawaii and its worthiness to be a state. The material is the result of an objective study made by Buck Buchwach, city editor of *The Honolulu Advertiser* and a news service correspondent accredited by the Defense Department. It was developed from an article ordered from him in January, 1957 by International News Service for *The Denver Post* and later released to other newspapers. In its present form the article represents the collective view of this commission.

Hawaii Statehood Commission

Honolulu, Hawaii
April, 1957

HAWAII, U.S.A.

COMMUNIST BEACHHEAD

OR

SHOWCASE FOR AMERICANISM?

BY BUCK BUCHWACH

"Nowhere in the United States have identified Communists gone farther in attaining their primary objectives than in the Territory of Hawaii." (Dr. Lyle G. Phillips, testifying before Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Honolulu, 1956).

"If Hawaii becomes a state, it will be dominated by Communist influences . . . it will serve as a beachhead for Communist infiltration." (Rep. B. Carroll Reece in Spotlight, December 3, 1956).

* * *

These are the statements being spread upon the record before Congress and the American public.

The loyalty of Hawaii's citizenry . . . their devotion to American ideals . . . is being questioned. Their patriotism is being impugned.

The implication is, simply, that the 500,000 Americans in Hawaii are today under the Red thumb of a handful of Communist leaders who can manipulate the political destiny of the Islands as they see fit.

If the proposition is true, the people of Hawaii are not good Americans. Good Americans don't sit idly by while their government is taken over by those who plan its overthrow by force and violence in concert with the Soviets.

The ILWU in Hawaii

The charge of Communist domination of Hawaii stems from one premise.

It is this.

The most powerful union in the Territory is the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. It has 24,000 members in Hawaii's three leading industries: sugar, pineapple and waterfront. The combined action of these ILWU workers can

Written in Blood

Those who don't have faith in Hawaii's people argue that in event of an "emergency," the ILWU membership would follow orders from Red leaders. Is there substance to this charge?

ILWU leaders were against the Korean war. They claimed the United States was "meddling" in foreign affairs. Their propaganda outlets used that theme through most of the Korean fighting.

Yet the hundreds upon hundreds of rank and file Hawaii ILWU unionists and members of their families who left the sugar and pineapple fields and the waterfront for military service took orders from no one except the government of the United States.

These GIs from ILWU families, the same ones charged with being "tools of the Kremlin," fought courageously against the Reds in Korea.

Like Ralph Masatsugu, ILWU member and junior agriculture control worker on the Waialua sugar plantation, killed while heroically battling Communist troops in his first Korean winter, less than six months after he donned an army uniform. He was 22.

Like another 22-year-old, Rufino Garalde, an ILWU field laborer at the Dole pineapple plantation on Lanai Island. Called into army service in February, 1951; killed in action in Korea on September 6, 1951.

Family greets Hawaii veteran of Korea



Like Army Cpl. Edward A. Queja, son of the ILWU division director on Kauai, aggressive Primativo S. Queja. It may be difficult to convince the corporal's sorrowing parents that the top union bosses successfully fashioned their young son into "a tool of the Kremlin" — especially since he was recommended for a posthumous Silver Star "for outstanding bravery in action against Communist troops." That bravery cost him his life in September, 1950. (Corporal Queja's life insurance benefits went to his mother and youngest brother, who immediately invested \$7,000 in United States Defense Bonds.)

The Supreme Test

On January 27, 1954, the late Senator Hugh Butler submitted a report on Hawaii after an on-the-spot investigation, in his capacity as chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In it he pointed out:

"In attempting to assess the extent of remaining Communist influence in the Territory, it is desirable to get away from conflicting assertions by proponents and opponents, and to find, if possible, some objective test of the extent to which Communism controls the minds and loyalties of a significant proportion of the residents of Hawaii.

"Fortunately for our study of the question, such an objective test is available. I refer to the existence of the armed conflict in Korea against the military forces of Communism and the call which has been made upon the men of Hawaii to do their part in holding the line against Communist aggression.

"If there is such a thing as a supreme test of loyalty to an ideal, then a willingness to service in battle in support of that ideal is entitled to such a description."

Yes, the supreme test of loyalty to their country was passed by the youth of Hawaii.

No "Kremlin Tools" Here

Not one case of cowardice by a Hawaii soldier in the face of the Communist enemy was recorded in Korea.

Not one case of successful Red "brainwashing" of any Hawaii soldier was recorded.

Not one case of a Hawaii soldier's desertion to the enemy was recorded.

Of the 22 American servicemen who refused repatriation after the Korean war in favor of remaining with the Communists, there were turncoats from Texas, Georgia, Minnesota, Louisiana, Illinois, Virginia, Rhode Island, Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi. There was not one from Hawaii.



Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security hearing of 1956 in Hawaii

There were 426 Hawaii boys killed in Korea action, a death toll four and one-half times the killed-in-action average for the rest of the United States. There were 1,352 total battle casualties from Hawaii, a rate three times as great as the casualty rate per capita for the rest of the nation.

"In the light of these harsh statistics," as Hawaii's late Delegate to Congress, Joseph R. Farrington, said, "can it not be interpreted, then, as only mockery and derision when a member takes the floor of the United States House of Representatives and solemnly declares that Hawaii, if granted statehood, would send representatives of the Kremlin to Congress?"

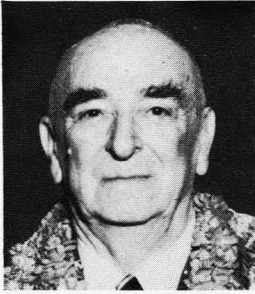
ILWU's Political "Control"

The latest Congressional Red probe in Hawaii was conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, of which Sen. James Eastland was chairman, in November, 1956. The most serious conclusion reached in the subcommittee's report is this:

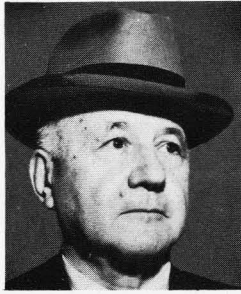
"They (Communist conspirators) exercise an influence on the political life of the Islands that is significant."

Do the leaders of the ILWU, by using their economic power, wield any measurable influence in Hawaii's government, much less control it? Let us take a look at the political make-up of Hawaii.

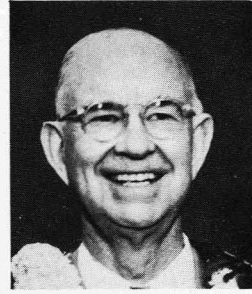
The head of the executive branch of the government, Governor Samuel Wilder King, is a conservative Republican appointed four years ago by President Eisenhower. He is a bitter critic of the ILWU's leaders and has outspokenly labeled them Communists. He has been bitterly assailed throughout his administration by the ILWU.



Governor King



Former Governor Stainback



Former Governor Long

His two immediate predecessors were Democrats, Oren E. Long and Ingram M. Stainback. Both were called "reactionary" Democrats by the ILWU, which attacked them throughout their administrations. Governor Stainback spark-plugged the law the ILWU hates more than any other on the Territory's books. It is the dock seizure statute, which permits the Governor to take over the waterfront if a protracted strike creates an emergency.

Long and Stainback

It is true, as former Governor Stainback testified before the Senate subcommittee, "that the ILWU sent a group to Washington to lobby against his reappointment because of anti-Communist utterances and actions."

It is also true that more important than opposition from ILWU leaders, a powerful cross-section of Hawaii Democrats was able to convince then-President Truman that Stainback wasn't the best choice for Governor in the Territory's Democratic Party. If the ILWU influence had been the overriding factor, obviously it should have been exercised in the choice of a successor sympathetic to their reported aims. Governor Stainback's successor? Oren E. Long, a bitter foe of the ILWU leadership since he entered political life.

Justices Opposed

The judicial branch of Hawaii's government is topped by three justices of the Territory's Supreme Court.

Chief Justice Philip Rice, Republican, has been the target for disqualification in key cases involving the ILWU or its leaders. The union leaders claim he has an anti-ILWU bias. Justice Masaji Marumoto, first American of Japanese ancestry to be elevated to the Supreme Court, is a former Republican member of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities and a long-time foe of Communists.

Justice Stainback, the ex-Governor, takes pride in having launched the aggressive official battle against the ILWU's leaders that began in the late 1940s.

Those who charge Communist domination of Hawaii's political life point out, however, these executive and judicial posts are not subject to the ILWU's power because all are filled by the President of the United States subject to confirmation by the United States Senate.

That leaves the legislative branch of the Territorial government, whose 45 members are elected by the people of Hawaii's votes, the only area open for "Communist domination."

Hawaii's Legislature

Those who charge the Communists influence Hawaii's government usually point to the 1955 Legislature, the first controlled by Democrats in the history of the Territory.

In testimony before the Senate subcommittee in Honolulu, therefore, it wasn't surprising that Dr. Lyle G. Phillips charged that "Communists kept vigil during the entire (1955) session and were on intimate terms with the lawmakers."

Dr. Phillips is a past president and now a director of Hawaii's aggressive anti-Communist group, the Hawaii Residents Association.

As the most blatant example of their political influence, he noted that the 1955 Speaker of the House, Charles E. Kauhane, sent a token gavel to Harry Bridges during a Mainland convention of the ILWU in April, 1955.

So impressed was the subcommittee with Dr. Phillips' testimony about "the gavel episode" that its report said:

"It was such acts as this that the subcommittee found brought prestige to the ILWU in the community."

More to Story

It is true that Kauhane did send a gavel, on his own initiative, to Harry Bridges.

But Dr. Phillips in his testimony omitted the rest of the story.

It is also true that Kauhane's "leadership" in the House shortly thereafter came under severe fire.

There was a "revolt" of the Democratic legislators in the House, and Mr. Kauhane would have been tossed out unceremoniously from his post if it hadn't been the first time the Democrats controlled Hawaii's Legislature. Democrats were fearful lest they make a move that would have damaging consequence to the party. So they allowed Kauhane to remain as Speaker, but clamped down on him strongly.



Charles E. Kauhane, 1955 Speaker of House

It was made clear to him he'd never be Speaker again, even if he were re-elected to the House. He found 25 of the 30 members of the House against him.

Worst Defeat in History

Foregoing a chance to be re-elected to his eighth term in the House, Kauhane decided to run for Mayor in the 1956 campaign.

What happened? Kauhane received the worst drubbing ever administered at the polls in the history of Hawaii. He was mercilessly thrashed in the primaries, 39,810 to 6,221, a 6½-to-1 margin, by William C. Vannatta, a newcomer to politics. (Mr. Vannatta was beaten in the general election by the Republican incumbent, Neal S. Blaisdell).

To show what happened to the candidate who sent Harry Bridges a gavel, take a look at the 1st precinct of Honolulu's 5th District, which in the 1954 primaries gave Kauhane 543 votes of 1,858 cast. In 1956, after "the incident," Kauhane received a grand total of eight votes, yes eight, of the 423 cast. (The precinct had been reduced in size between elections).

ILWU Opposition Futile

The alleged Red influence in the 1955 Legislature failed to bring about passage of the two major laws for which the ILWU lobbied so vigorously.

One bill would have provided unemployment compensation benefits for Hawaii's agricultural workers. The second would have repealed Hawaii's dock seizure law, empowering the Territorial government to take over the docks and stevedoring functions during a waterfront tieup. That law was passed during the 1949 waterfront strike, despite the ILWU's most vigorous opposition.

Dr. Phillips also testified in the hearings that another example of Communist influence in the 1955 Legislature was the reduction of the biennial budget for the Territorial Commission on Subversive

Activities from the Governor's requested \$47,500 to \$20,000 — an insufficient amount that forced the commission out of existence, for all practical purposes, on August 31, 1956.

Look To FBI

The legislative record shows that at a meeting of the joint House-Senate Committee on Finances on February 22, 1955, attended by members of both parties, it was agreed to slash that request for funds, along with a number of other requests. At that meeting was Sen. Ben Dillingham, one of Hawaii's foremost attackers of the ILWU, who testified before the Eastland subcommittee that Hawaii employers had a "gutless attitude" in the face of the ILWU's radical militancy.

It was Senator Dillingham who suggested on February 22, 1955 it might be wise if the Subversive Activities Commission were moved into the Attorney General's office. He wondered whether the Attorney General and the FBI weren't enough to handle Hawaii's problem.

ILWU Snubbed

In the last election six candidates vied for the Island of Oahu's three Senate seats. All three winners lacked the endorsement of the ILWU leadership.

The biggest vote ever cast in history on the Island of Kauai, for any office, was that in 1956 for Republican Noboru Miyake, elected to represent that Island in the Senate despite violent opposition by the ILWU. His vote count and election take on even more significance when it is considered that Kauai is the "hotbed" of ILWU unionism and long has been a stronghold for the union's political activities.

In the 1957 Legislature, it should be significant that the four most important officials — Senate President William Heen, Senate Floor Leader Herbert H. K. Lee, Speaker of the House O. Vincent Esposito and House Floor Leader Daniel K. Inouye — were elected without the endorsement of the ILWU.

Senator Heen has consistently opposed ILWU measures; Senator Lee was the No. 1 target of the ILWU in the election campaign last fall. (Another Oahu Senator in extreme disfavor with the ILWU, former Governor Oren E. Long, led every candidate on Oahu in winning his first elective office, despite strong ILWU opposition.)

As for the House, Representative Inouye was reelected although not endorsed this year by the ILWU.

Esposito Wins Too

The biggest rebuff the ILWU got in the organization of the 1957 Legislature was in the race for the speakership. There were four candidates, and the ILWU made it clear it would support any of the four "except Esposito." (O. Vincent Esposito). They tried in every way possible to eliminate Representative Esposito from the race but when the smoke cleared he was Speaker of the House, elected by a unanimous 30 to 0 vote.

There was good reason why the ILWU didn't want Esposito as Speaker. The brilliant young attorney takes orders from no one. Now in his fourth term in the House, he is a 42-year-old Harvard-educated attorney, an intelligence operative for the United States during World War II, chief prosecutor for the War Crimes Commission in Japan after the war, onetime attorney on General MacArthur's Japan staff, and later a deputy Honolulu City and County attorney. He is an avowed enemy of the ILWU's top leadership, and is a potent and dedicated anti-Communist.

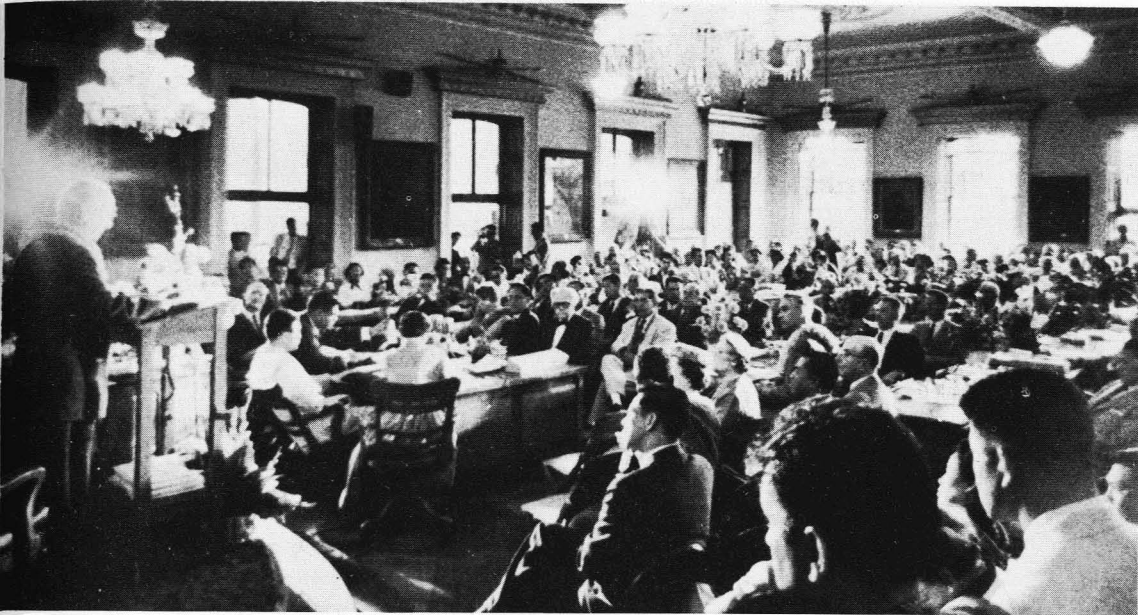
Weeks before the 1957 Legislature was scheduled to get underway, "pre-sessions" of the House were called by him, in an effort to attack some of the monumental problems facing the new Legislature, especially in regard to finances. In one major pre-session 29 of 30 members of the House, from all Islands, were present for two and a half-days of work, without pay . . . an effort which drew applause from every segment of Hawaii's population.

No Influence

In 1959, the ILWU will have even less chance of influence in the Legislature, because the United States Congress last year authorized the long delayed reapportionment of Hawaii's Legislature.



House Speaker O. Vincent Esposito



Governor King addresses joint session of 1957 Hawaii Legislature

Under the present antiquated apportionment of the Legislature, a majority of the 15 Senators and 30 Representatives who make up the Islands' lawmaking body are elected from the Counties of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai, where the bulk of ILWU membership is concentrated.

Reapportionment ordered for the 1958 elections will for the first time give heavily-populated urban Honolulu, where ILWU political influence is negligible, control of the new 51-member house.

"Resistance to Government"

Although most testimony about Communism in Hawaii contains very few references to Red activities since 1950, the chairman of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities, William B. Stephenson, testified there has been "no diminution of Communist activity in Hawaii."

He stated that he believes the top leadership of the ILWU is "directly involved with international Communism."

His testimony contains the basic argument offered as proof of Red control of Hawaii. He told the Senate subcommittee that ILWU "political" strikes show "there is a continuous course of conduct in which Communist leaders counsel resistance to the government."

His argument was that since the union members authorized such strikes, and that since such strikes were "political strikes" in resistance to the United States government rather than economic protests, that they were *prima facie* evidence that ILWU leaders can utilize their economic power for political purposes in defiance of the United States government.

Three Examples

Mr. Stephenson, in the testimony which he gave personally before the subcommittee in November, 1956, emphasized three major examples of "patently political" strikes by the ILWU.

1. In June, 1953, when the ILWU went on a four-day walkout to protest against the Smith Act conviction of Hawaii's ILWU chief, Jack Hall.

2. In February, 1956, when the ILWU broke off negotiations for a week with sugar and pineapple management to protest the presence in Hawaii of Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, because he had said the ILWU was Communist dominated.

3. In November, 1956, when thousands of ILWU members walked off their jobs to protest the start of the subcommittee's hearings on Communism in Hawaii.

Many strong anti-Communists are convinced these three examples . . . the major evidence of ILWU "political strikes" against the government . . . are no proof whatsoever that the ILWU's leaders can use their economic power for purposes inimical to the security of the United States.

Contract Violated

All three examples cited by Mr. Stephenson *were* violations of contracts with employers. They *were* clear cases of failure to live up to labor-management agreements, and diluted the faith inherent in negotiated contracts. They may have even sabotaged the union members' financial interests.

But to maintain they were courses of conduct that proved the ILWU leaders' ability to force their members to resist the government is to make a deduction that cannot be proven.

The walkouts were called after the ILWU leaders had pounded home the message that the judicial decision in the Smith Act case, the remarks of Secretary Mitchell, and the presence of the Eastland subcommittee were all designed to "get" union leaders . . . to undermine the union's bargaining strength. The leaders stressed they were "pork chop issues," affecting the pocketbook of each member of the union.

The walkouts prompted in the three major instances cited by Mr. Stephenson as "patently political" may have proved loyalty to union leaders; they may have proved that union leaders could enlist support of the membership to exhibit union "solidarity."

But they were far from proof that the leaders can foment group defiance of the United States government.

Eastland Hearings

The most recent example cited as "resistance to the government" was the demonstration of ILWU workers against the subcommittee's hearings in Hawaii in November, 1956.

Before they began, Bridges "warned" he would shut down island industry completely during the hearings.

Carrying out this threat, the leadership of the ILWU urged a walkout as a protest against Senator Eastland personally, because of his reported beliefs on the racial question. Members of the union, of various colors and ancestries, were bombarded with propaganda to agitate them to demonstrate.

Yet, the demonstrations against the subcommittee were far from a whopping success, no where near a walkout of the union's 24,000 members.

Bridges Let Down

The fact is, as reported by *The New York Times*, the union membership did not back Bridges up in his threat. There were sporadic one-day walkouts at different ports and plantations, with no visible damage to the Island economy. The demonstration was nothing like what Bridges had threatened.

"According to newspaper reports," the subcommittee report said, "the sporadic walkouts that occurred involved no more than 6,500 workers on all Islands, and as far as we could determine only one ship was not loaded on schedule and even that was delayed only one day."

Subcommittee Chairman Senator Eastland



The protest caused internal dissension among local unit leaders, who in a number of cases refused to go along. One ILWU chairman, Eugene Pacheco of the Hilo Sugar Co., quit his post because he didn't like the idea of walking out in defiance of a Senate subcommittee. He posted his written objections in conspicuous spots throughout the plant.

"Mass Walk"

The biggest demonstration was a "mass walk" of ILWU protesters from Honolulu's Civic Auditorium to Iolani Palace, legislative capitol of Hawaii, on the day the hearings began. The members waved placards denouncing Senator Eastland, picketed the capitol, and left.

The Eastland report itself concedes that the demonstration on the Iolani Palace grounds "featured only a few hundred participants led by Bridges and his lieutenant Jack W. Hall."

Again, the walkouts at the ports and plantations were a violation of signed union-management contracts. But they cannot be accepted as *prima facie* evidence that ILWU members will defy the United States government in furtherance of Communist aims.

Party Strength

Are there Communists in Hawaii today? If so, how many?

The House UnAmerican Activities subcommittee found that the maximum strength of Communists in Hawaii was reached in 1946, when there were 160 Reds. By May, 1950, the committee reported the number had dwindled to 90.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, in an interview in 1952, declared there were only 36 known Communists in Hawaii.

In 1954, after the conviction of seven Hawaii residents on Smith Act charges, Attorney General Herbert M. Brownell said:

"The fact it has been necessary to prosecute the leaders of the Communist conspiracy in Hawaii is, in my opinion, no more an indication of the strength of the party in that area than the convictions of the Communist leaders in New York, Pittsburgh, Seattle and Los Angeles are indications of party control and dominance in those areas."

FBI Chief Hoover



Attorney General Brownell



John A. Burns, Hawaii Delegate to Congress



Yet, in the face of the reports of the FBI and the Attorney General, the charge is made in 1957 that Hawaii shouldn't be given statehood because of "Communist control" of the Islands' political life.

Statehood the Target

Although the charge of Communist domination goes far beyond whether or not the Territory has earned statehood, it must be understood that too often the only reason for impugning the loyalty of the entire Territory is to block statehood.

Those who charge Communism are perfectly content to let Hawaii remain an American Territory and let its American citizens continue to pay taxes without being represented in Washington, except by a Delegate without a vote. Through some devious reasoning, they have convinced themselves that the supposed Red domination of the most strategic area in the Pacific is less a danger with Hawaii a Territory than if it were a state.

The reasoning too often is not only fallacious but a false front to disguise why such charges as Communism in Hawaii are circulated: to block statehood for a Territory that has earned it, and not to strengthen the Nation.

Arguments Against Statehood

In the half-century that Hawaii has been seeking statehood, its opponents have been able to muster only three basic arguments against admitting the Territory to the Union.

The three are non-contiguity, dilution of representation, and the extent of the loyalty of Hawaii's citizenry.

Aviation and electronics have swept away the argument that Hawaii is not "contiguous," to the 48 states. It is true Hawaii does not physically abut any state of the Union. But it is also true that the expanse of water and land that separate Hawaii from the 48 states can be spanned in a few hours by modern jet transports. And Hawaii is in almost instant telephone and radio touch with every state in the Union. Non-contiguity is an argument out of the dead past.

The argument that two Senators from Hawaii would "dilute" large state representations is an attack on the United States Constitution and the plan of government under which it has operated for more than 150 years. The contention that "one Hawaiian would have a voice in the Senate equal to 26 Californians" loses its validity considering that one citizen of Nevada now has the same voice in the Senate as 57 Californians and 69 New Yorkers.

Loyalty in "Emergencies"

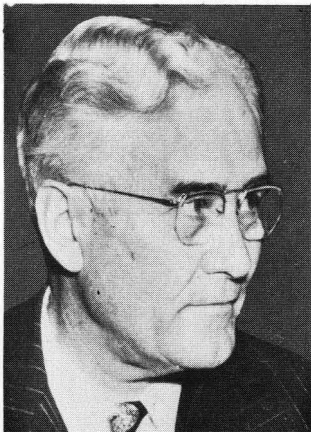
But opponents have set up the biggest bar to statehood by impugning the Americanism of Hawaii's citizenry.

Before World War II, this took the form of attacks on Hawaii's non-Caucasians, primarily Americans of Japanese ancestry. Their loyalty in an "emergency" was questioned. But that question was settled with blood during World War II, when the 442nd Regimental Combat Team — made up of 2,600 Hawaii-Americans of Japanese ancestry augmented by Mainland "AJAs" — became "the most decorated unit in the entire military history of the United States," as pointed out by its commander, General Mark W. Clark. Meanwhile, Hawaii's civilian population during World War II gave its "complete and wholehearted cooperation," as Admiral Chester W. Nimitz has testified.

Contrary to rumors and whisperings, FBI reports show there was not a single case of disloyalty or sabotage during World War II by any segment of the civilian population, including the "suspect" residents of Japanese birth or ancestry.

The Red Menace

After World War II, opponents of statehood, balked by a record of overwhelming patriotism in their attempts to discredit the loyalties of Hawaii's non-Caucasian Americans, turned to another avenue. They warned that the Territory must not be granted statehood because of "successful Communist penetration and control of the Hawaiian Islands."



The late Senator Butler

The record of Hawaii's youth in the Korean war should have effectively answered that charge, but it did not deter statehood opponents.

Nor did the report of the House UnAmerican Activities subcommittee, which, at the request of Hawaii's Legislature, made an on-the-spot investigation in April, 1950, and later reported to Congress:

"The evidence shows that as of 1951 the people of Hawaii have successfully cast Communistic influence out of all phases of their political, social, cultural and educational activities. The only sphere in which Communism plays a part of any significance is in the ILWU, an international labor organization which has headquarters in San Francisco.

"The people of Hawaii have shown they are now alert to the menace of Communism in that union, and while the problem is not theirs alone, they are leading the way in completely nullifying its influence."

Senator Butler Testifies

That was 1951. In June, 1953, the late Senator Butler, one-time foe of statehood because of possible Communist influence in Hawaii, made this opening statement as presiding officer of his Senate committee's hearings:

"I believe the residents of Hawaii during the past four years . . . have demonstrated by positive action their awareness of the Communist danger and their determination to face it frankly and never let it strengthen its foothold.

"During those years they have fought it boldly, have restricted its influence, and to some degree have driven it underground. I believe they have shown that they are as well able as the Federal government to cope with this measure."

Attorney General Testifies

On January 13, 1954, Attorney General Brownell reported to the Senate Interior Committee:

"The facts known to me concerning Communism in Hawaii do not indicate any reason to believe that Communism is a greater menace in Hawaii at the present time than it was in 1950. As a matter of fact, the known members of the Communist Party in Hawaii appear to be fewer in number at the present time than they were in 1950. Undoubtedly, the recent conviction of the leaders of the Communist conspiracy in Hawaii has contributed to this decline in Communist Party membership. I believe it is inevitable that this conviction will have a weakening effect on the strength of Communism in Hawaii."



COMMUNIST BASE IN HAWAII

HON. B. CARROLL REECE, M.C.
Representative from Tennessee

Article in SPOTLIGHT and author, Congressman Reece

Hawaii's Smith Act Trial

The "recent conviction" was that of ILWU leader Jack Hall and six others on Smith Act charges.

It was a solid demonstration of Hawaii's record showing that whenever the issue of Communism has been clearly presented to its people, they have demonstrated their unalterable and aggressive opposition.

The Hawaii Smith Act trial began in 1952 and lasted for eight months, the longest in Hawaii's history. Throughout the trial, the ILWU carried on an extensive propaganda campaign. It sought to discredit the prosecution and persuade the people the trial was not aimed against Communism but the ILWU.

The 12 jurors represented a cross section of Hawaii's population in occupations, ancestries and education. On June 19, 1953, they found all seven defendants guilty. On July 3, 1953, Federal Judge Jon Wiig of Hawaii sentenced six of the defendants to five years in prison and fined each \$5,000. The seventh, a woman, got a three-year sentence and was fined \$2,000. At time of printing the appeal of the seven was still pending before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California.

The question might well be asked, if the ILWU's Communists do control Hawaii, how was a conviction ever secured in the face of perhaps the most vocal and violent opposition ever expressed by the ILWU?

Question in Spotlight

Perhaps it might be well to ask that question of Rep. B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee.

On December 3, 1956, Congressman Reece had an article printed under his name in *Spotlight*, published by the "Committee for Constitutional Government." It was titled "Communist Base in Hawaii,"

and was designed to prove that if Hawaii were to become a state it would be dominated by Communists and serve as a "beachhead for Communist infiltration."

The bulk of the report was based on a Congressional report of 1949. The author was Senator Butler, who reversed the findings in his report to the Senate in 1953, *four years later*.

Reece's article said:

"If Hawaii soon is to become a state, will the projected constitutional convention . . . be dominated and controlled by Communists?" He left no doubt as to his answer, bolstering his deductions with this excerpt from the 1949 Senate report:

"Statehood for Hawaii is the primary objective of Communist policy in the Territory. The ILWU and the Communist Party say frankly that they could control a clear majority of the delegates who would write the new state constitution."

Six Years Behind

The "projected constitutional convention" was actually convened in the fall of 1950, six years before the *Spotlight* article.

The citizens of Hawaii elected 63 delegates to the Constitutional Convention held in Honolulu. Of a slate of 14 endorsed by the ILWU leadership, only three were elected.

They were:

1. Richard M. Kageyama, who shortly after his election admitted he was an ex-Communist (a party member in 1945). He was forced to resign as a convention delegate.
2. Frank G. Silva, an ILWU business agent on the Island of Kauai, who after being elected refused to tell a House Un-American Activities subcommittee whether he was a Communist. He was expelled by the convention for "contumacious conduct."
3. Frank C. Luiz, an ILWU business agent on the Island of Maui and member of the County Civil Service Commission. He voted with his colleagues to oust Silva, his fellow business agent.

Set a New Standard

The Hawaii State Constitution finally drawn by the convention included a provision that "no person who advocates, or who aids or belongs to any party, organization, or association which advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States shall be qualified to hold any public office or employment." It is the first state constitution to contain such a provision.

ILWU leaders expressed strong opposition to the ratification of the "reactionary" constitution hammered out by this assembly. They waged a vigorous campaign to defeat it in the November, 1950 plebiscite. Nevertheless, the constitution was ratified by the people of Hawaii by better than a 3 to 1 margin, with a plurality of more than 55,000 votes.

The National Municipal League of New York City said Hawaii had "set a new standard in the writing of a modern state constitution by a convention."

This is the constitution that, with the ratification of Congress, will take effect when Hawaii is admitted to statehood.

ILWU Economic Gains

The big question to outsiders is why a group of 24,000 American workers of proven loyalty have countenanced the leadership of Harry Bridges and Jack Hall, a man convicted of conspiracy to teach the overthrow of the government by force and violence? Why have they given the two the powerful rank-and-file support necessary for them to wield their power?

The answer the workers give is that ILWU members and their families have enjoyed undisputed economic gains under this steward-

Famous Hawaiian pineapples, vital to Island economy



ship, accompanied by better working conditions and improved living conditions.

Take the sugar and pineapple workers, who make up about 90 per cent of the ILWU's strength in Hawaii. They are today the highest paid agricultural workers in the world.

In the past 10 years, the wages of pineapple plantation employees have increased between 25 and 41 per cent, and now range between \$1.27 and \$2.12 per hour.

In the past 10 years, the wages of sugar plantation workers have increased between 23 and 42 per cent, and now range from \$1.12 to \$1.79½ cents per hour.

Highest Benefits

Additionally, both pineapple and sugar workers receive the highest fringe benefits of any agriculture workers in the world.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association said in a release dated February 7, 1957, that such fringe benefits totaled \$3.60 per worker per day — the highest in history for such benefits, including holiday pay, medical care, pensions, sick leave, etc. The release pointed out that the daily fringe benefits alone were only eight cents less than the entire minimum daily wage for eight hours of work recently approved for sugar workers in Puerto Rico.

Hawaii reaps rich sugar harvest



"Hurt Economy"

The Senate subcommittee in its report released February 28, 1957, put great weight on testimony of Victor Riesel, labor columnist. Riesel, "speaking from his visits to Hawaii and his experiences in the labor movement," helped "compel the trip to Hawaii" of the subcommittee, it acknowledged.

Riesel told the committee:

"He (Bridges) and his union control the workers on the great plantations, which he has also shut down from time to time and *has thoroughly hurt the economy*" (italics added).

What is the status of the Territory's economy today? A highly-regarded economist, James H. Shoemaker, vice-president of the Bank of Hawaii, wrote in *The Honolulu Advertiser* on January 1, 1957:

"At the beginning of 1957, Hawaii stands at the highest point in her economic development. Last year was a record breaker by any basic measure you wish to apply.

Greatest Peacetime Year

"It was the greatest peacetime year in the history of the Territory . . . advance indications are that in 1957, the economy will move to even higher levels.

"The pineapple crop in 1956 was one of the largest in the history of the industry. The sugar crop was second only to the record output of 1955.

"The tourist industry has been breaking records with almost monotonous regularity. The rise in visitor expenditures from \$6 million in 1946 to an estimated \$65 million in 1956 is a significant factor in the postwar growth of service enterprises."

Or take this statement made on February 27, 1957, the day before the subcommittee's report was made public. It's from Dwight Steele,

Employer Spokesman Steele



Economist Dr. Shoemaker





Labor, management reach accord on new sugar industry contract in 1956

president of the Hawaii Employers Council, a "union" that includes every major employer in Hawaii and is the incessant target of ILWU vitriol.

"Not since the advent of industrial unionism in Hawaii some 12 years ago," Steele said in his annual report, "has there been brighter hope for mature and peaceful relations than now. Management and labor in Hawaii passed a new milestone in 1956 on their difficult and sometimes painful road to industrial peace . . . This has come about, I believe, through the recognition of both unions and management that change is the very breath of progress."

It seems hardly necessary to point out that capitalist spokesman Steele wasn't talking about any "change" to Communism.

Investments Increase

There is no need to limit oneself to the calculations of Hawaii's foremost businessmen in assessing the Territory's economic potential. Perhaps more impartial Mainland analysts are keener judges of Hawaii's financial structure and its future.

Among the hardest-headed investors in the world are Mainland United States insurance firms, who must be convinced beyond doubt the money of their policy-holders is being invested safely and wisely.

During nine years, the investment of Mainland insurance companies in Hawaii has increased more than 700 per cent—from \$17 million in 1948 to well over \$125 million in 1957, according to the Bank of Hawaii and Territorial government statistics.

The \$125 million includes \$46 million in public utilities; \$44½ million in 3,136 mortgages; \$21 million in industrials; \$14 million in Hawaii (Territory and City-County) government bonds.

This is only a fraction of the Mainland money invested in Hawaii's financial future . . . an eye-opening portion of it within 10 years.

Workers Share in Prosperity

Sears, Roebuck and Co., Woolworth's, Henry J. Kaiser, the Murchison-Trousdale interests . . . all have invested heavily in Hawaii's future during the past few years.

It is estimated the total of Mainland money invested amounts to \$400 million in stocks and \$300 million in bonds.

All of these figures add up to an inescapable conclusion.

Far from a "hurt" economy that can be smashed momentarily by the whim of a Mainland labor leader, the Territory of Hawaii is today enjoying unprecedented economic prosperity that financial experts believe hasn't fully bloomed as yet.

The ILWU members are reaping a generous share of that prosperity.

The membership of the ILWU and their families are good unionists, tough unionists. But they are Americans first, along with the rest of Hawaii's half-million population, whose loyalty to the United States can't be divided, diluted or bought by anybody.

Red Propaganda in Hawaii

Of particular concern to those still convinced there is a strong Red influence in Hawaii is the "powerful Red propaganda machine" operated by the ILWU leaders. Testimony given at the subcommittee hearing indicated \$250,000 is being spent annually in Hawaii on such propaganda. It was suggested that such propaganda is not only effective in spreading the poison of Communism into the bloodstream of the ILWU's membership, but also into the circulatory system of Hawaii's whole community.

Local weekly spreads Red propaganda



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THE AMAZING SONNY HART

Llewellyn H. L. (Sonny) Hart, superintendent of the C-C division of refuse disposal, has had an amazing career.

In fact, oldtimers say he is an amazing man.

SO LAST WEEK when the civil service commission announced a \$1,000 increase in his annual salary—in the midst of a major controversy at Honolulu Hale which involves Sonny Hart—not so many oldtimers were surprised as you might think.

The big news at City Hall in recent weeks has concerned Hart's interest in Olomana, Ltd., a land reclaiming and refuse dumping company. Because he runs the city's refuse collection operations, the charge of "conflict of interest" has been hurled against him.

SONNY HART has managed to rise for years, despite controversy and questions that made it seem they might cost him his job.

Hart is one man who started at the top. He was first appointed to his present post back in 1932, before civil service had been adopted. Two years later he was out. But in 1936, he was reappointed by a Republican mayor and eventually took office, though a Democratic board stalled his confirmation for some time. But except for a brief period, he has been in office ever since.

Tried in Conspiracy

Since attaining his present post, Hart

(more on page 7)

C-C Dump Income Drops as Hart's Olomana Grows

Singled out as the foremost propaganda outlets for the Reds have been the weekly *Honolulu Record*, a hula-skirted version of the *Daily Worker*, and a 15-minute radio program conducted by the union's publicity director. They were credited with real effectiveness, although subscription lists and Hooper ratings offer statistical evidence that these two vehicles have small acceptance in the community. The subcommittee also heard testimony that a considerable amount of Communist political propaganda is being mailed into the Hawaiian Islands.

It is true that Red propaganda has been widely disseminated in Hawaii. It is true that substantial amounts of money have been expended by ILWU leaders to subsidize radio programs and circulate printed materials.

Questions and Answers

The pertinent questions are: How effective is this propaganda? Has it succeeded in conditioning the people of Hawaii into an acceptance of Communism?

The answers:

1. The propaganda was totally ineffective in attempting to weaken the resistance of Hawaii's servicemen toward Communism and Communists on the battlefields of Korea.
2. The propaganda was totally ineffective in attempting to convince a representative Hawaii jury of the innocence of seven Island residents, all of whom were found guilty of violating the Smith Act.
3. The propaganda was totally ineffective in attempting to influence the 63 delegates who drew up Hawaii's State Constitution, which is the only state constitution barring any pro-Communist from holding any public office or employment.
4. The propaganda was, and is, totally ineffective in its efforts to control or influence subversively the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii.

Furthermore, the propaganda has failed to inflict any permanent damage on the economy of the Territory, which is at the height of its prosperity under a strong free enterprise system.

The people of Hawaii have proven their contempt for Communism and its propaganda; they have proven in every test their devotion to the United States.

If statehood is to be arbitrarily denied to Hawaii, let its opponents not hide behind the gross insult of questioning the loyalty of Hawaii's citizens.



President Eisenhower



Chief Justice Warren

At Odds with Findings

Those who affix the stamp of Communism to Hawaii as a bar to statehood are questioning the Executive branch of the government and President Dwight D. Eisenhower whose advocacy of statehood bespeaks confidence in the people of the Territory.

They are at odds with the Judicial branch, whose Chief Justice Earl Warren says no state already admitted has earned statehood as well as Hawaii.

They are at odds with the findings of 17 Congressional investigations of Hawaii during the past 22 years, spread over 5,300 pages of official testimony in 30 government publications containing more than two million words, the equivalent of 25 book-length novels.

They are at odds with the Defense Department, all of its intelligence agencies, and the conclusions of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz and General Douglas MacArthur.

They are at odds with the Interior Department and the investigations and conclusions of its last four Secretaries: Julius C. Krug, Oscar L. Chapman, Douglas McKay and Fred A. Seaton.

Example to Asia

They are at odds with the State Department, which believes life in Hawaii offers the people of Asia a look into the parlor of true democracy, contrasted with the tyranny and hardships of life under the Communist flag.

They are at odds with the Justice Department.

They are at odds with the platforms of the Republican and Democratic Parties, both of which inherently testify to the loyalty of Hawaii's population.

They are at odds with at least 78 per cent of the nation's population, who have signified that Hawaii should be granted immediate statehood because it has passed every test of a loyal population with flying colors.

To charge that Hawaii's 500,000 Americans are under the Red thumb of a handful of Red leaders who can use the 24,000 members of the ILWU as the leverage for whatever nefarious purposes suit the Soviet is an insult to 500,000 Americans.

Union Families Proud

These 24,000 union members and their families live in an industrious, prosperous and progressive community. It is a land of sunshine, scenic beauty and natural grandeur.

ILWU families, like all citizens of Hawaii, are proud of the Territory's streamlined government, its high standard of living, its progressive industries, its first-rate schools, its up-to-date transportation and communication facilities.

ILWU families live in modern houses, drive new automobiles, belong to aggressive community associations, and send their children in increasing numbers to the University of Hawaii and favorite Mainland colleges.

ILWU families yell themselves hoarse at football games, eat hot dogs, attend church services, watch television.

They're particularly proud that, whatever their color or racial origin, they've learned to live together, work together, play together and study together in Hawaii, a land of economic prosperity and social opportunity.

Showcase for Real Americanism

ILWU families are grateful to their union for speeding the economic gains that have made life more meaningful and enjoyable for them.

But to suggest the 24,000 members of that union, and their families, would allow a handful of Communist leaders to use the power of this cohesive unionism to help destroy what they love most, is to be blind.

It is to have lost faith in Americans and Americanism, not only in Hawaii but everywhere in our nation.

It is small wonder that Hawaii, a showcase for real Americanism, will not let such an insult go unanswered.

The overwhelming truth is that nowhere else in the world today is there a soil that offers less nourishment for Communists and Communism than in Hawaii.



HAWAII STATEHOOD COMMISSION

The Hawaii Statehood Commission was created in 1947 by an act of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii and is supported by public funds.

It maintains its office at Iolani Palace, P. O. Box 3775, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Booklets, folders and leaflets covering every phase of statehood for Hawaii will be sent to you upon request.

MEMBERS

LORRIN P. THURSTON, *Chairman*

Born in Honolulu, a fourth generation descendant of Rev. Asa Thurston, co-leader of pioneer missionary company in Hawaii. Attended Yale University and University of Missouri School of Journalism. In 1922 joined *The Honolulu Advertiser*. Upon the death of his father, Lorrin A., in 1930, succeeded him as president and general manager of Advertiser Publishing Co. Long a director and for five years chairman of Hawaii Visitors Bureau. Founder and first president of Pacific Area Travel Association. Has been a member of the Honolulu City-County Planning Commission and Board of Public Welfare, chairman Territorial Farm Security Advisory Commission, president Honolulu Chamber of Commerce. Director Olaa Sugar Co. and member Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

KATSURO MIHO, *Vice-Chairman*

Attorney, born at Wailuku, Island of Maui. Graduated from George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Member Honolulu City-County Planning Commission, World Brotherhood, Pacific and Asian Affairs Council, Honolulu Chamber of Commerce; director American Association for United Nations, Honolulu Japanese Chamber of Commerce. Honorary member 442nd Veterans Club. Associate government appeal agent Selective Service System. Partner in law firm of Fong, Miho, Choy & Chuck.

J. PIA COCKETT

Statehood commissioner for Island of Maui. Retired December 31, 1946 after 25 years as County Treasurer and 23 as public school teacher and principal on Maui. Served one term on County Board of Supervisors. Recognized as Maui's leading Hawaiian scholar. Conducted Hawaiian classes in capital city of Wailuku. Married in 1906, has 14 children and 17 grandchildren.

PHILIP M. CORBOY, M.D.

Born at Valparaiso, Ind. Medical training at Loyola University, Chicago. Came to Hawaii in 1937. For four years medical director of Civil Aeronautics Commission in the Pacific. While Honolulu consular agent in 1951-52, received Croix de Chevalier de Sante Publique, France's highest award to a medical officer, for assistance to French government. Deputy commander in 1952 and now national executive committeeman, American Legion. President Hawaii Residents Association in 1953. A United States Naval Reserve commander.

ERNEST B. DE SILVA

Statehood Commissioner for Island of Hawaii. District superintendent of schools there. Born in Honolulu and a graduate of University of Southern California. From 1942 to 1945 a major with Organized Defense Volunteers. Member of Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities, Commission on Children and Youth and National Panel of Arbitrators, American Arbitration Association. An arbitrator and mediator of labor disputes since 1946.

WAYNE E. ELLIS

Statehood Commissioner for Island of Kauai. Born at Puxico, Mo. Graduate of San Jose State College. Came to Hawaii in 1938 to teach industrial arts at Kauai High School. From 1942 to 1946 operated Lihue (Kauai) Hotel. In 1945 a partner in founding Hale Kauai, Ltd., building materials firm, and president today. Secretary of Nawiliwili Canning Co., Ltd. on Kauai. Kauai School Commissioner 1945-53.

JACK M. FOX

Born in New York City, graduate of University of Wisconsin. With *New York Herald Tribune*, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and *Honolulu Advertiser* variously between 1946 and 1950. From 1943 to 1946 officer in charge of public relations in mid-Pacific, United States Army. From 1946 to 1947 with WAA in Honolulu. From 1952 assistant director public relations at Castle & Cooke, Ltd., Honolulu. In 1956 became director public relations at C. Brewer & Co., Ltd.

HARRIETT B. (MRS. MARMION M.) MAGOON

Born at Hilo, Island of Hawaii. Attended Hilo and Honolulu schools, and Gregg Business College, School of Physical Education and Bush Conservatory of Music, all Chicago. Only woman member of first Equal Rights Committee, predecessor of Hawaii Statehood Commission. Was member Hawaiian Homes Commission and Governor's Advisory Committee on Tourism. From 1942 to 1948 secretary of Territorial Democratic Central Committee. Long secretary to late Mayor John H. Wilson of Honolulu.

WILLIAM F. QUINN

Attorney, born at Rochester, N.Y. LL.B. from Harvard Law School. In United States Naval Reserve 1942 to 1946, lastly as lieutenant commander. Received Commendation Ribbon from Admiral Spruance, Commander of 5th Fleet, at Okinawa, for service with 3rd and 5th Fleet search and bombardment task groups. Partner in Honolulu law firm of Robertson, Castle & Anthony. Member, executive committee of Hawaii Bar Association; director, Catholic Social Service; executive committeeman, Republican Central Committee; president Honolulu Community Chest.



LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

One Last Thought

Many thousands of war-weary Hungarian refugees are being given asylum, and the opportunity to become first-class citizens of the United States.

But . . .

We cannot help but wonder how much MORE proof is needed before we, of Hawaii, over 500,000 strong, who have demonstrated and proved our loyalty and patriotism for 57 years, will be granted equal recognition?

What Can We Do — That We Have Not Done?